

years. So the President is heaping debt on future generations for this privatization of Social Security plan and has no plan to pay for it.

So we have said to the President: Mr. President, you started this debate; you told us we should act now. Where is your proposal? And he cannot produce it.

If one takes a look at the President's budget for America, one would expect this is his highest priority, that the first chapter would be on Social Security privatization. Well, search if one will, get a magnifying glass, bring a bloodhound from the Westminster Kennel Show, take whatever one can find, and they are not going to find it in his budget. Highest priority for the Bush administration and not a word about paying for privatizing Social Security in the President's budget. Why? He cannot explain it. He cannot defend it. He cannot tell the American people that what he is proposing will actually strengthen Social Security.

As a result, people across America have said: Mr. President, we are not interested in your approach. If the President's approach means weakening Social Security and not strengthening it, if the President's privatization approach means substantial cuts in Social Security benefits, if the President's privatization plan means \$2 trillion to \$4 trillion more in debt for America, the American people, seniors and their families, are saying to the President, no, thanks.

That is not good news on the Republican side of the aisle. So because their plan is starting to fall apart and the support is not there for it, they have decided to go on the attack. The best defense is a good offense. So they want to attack the Democrats. Along comes the Republican Policy Committee and completely manufactures and fabricates a so-called Democratic bill that does not exist and says the Democratic plan is worse.

Well, I have news for them. November 2 was an important day in American political history last year. That was the day of our national election. If one wants to draw a parallel to a football game, there was a coin toss. President George W. Bush won the coin toss and he will receive. He received the opportunity to lead this Nation as a President. Now he has the ball and he has to run the plays. The President's theory about the game becomes the reality of governing, and the President has to step forward and give us his plan, tell us how he is going to privatize Social Security and make it stronger.

Everyone says if one takes money out of the Social Security trust fund, it weakens Social Security. Most everyone agrees that adding to our national debt means we have to turn to other countries in the world to borrow money. Who is paying for the debt of

America today? The No. 1 country in the world is Japan. Not far down the list we will find China and Korea. As we look at these countries, the mortgage holders of America, it is no surprise that many of them are exporting more goods to America at the same time as they own our debt. The two go hand in hand. The actual deficit and the trade deficit go hand in hand. So as we lose millions of manufacturing jobs across America, we lose them to countries that are holding and owning America's debt: China, Japan, Korea.

What does this administration suggest we do? Go more deeply into debt, borrow more money from these foreign countries, become more dependent on them in the hopes that some day they will not turn around and tell us, we do not want to buy your debt anymore? The only way we will buy it is if you raise the interest rates, which, of course, affect our businesses, our families, and all of us as individuals.

This is an extremely shortsighted plan by President Bush. It is a plan which he has not brought forward in detail because he cannot explain it. He cannot explain to the American people how weakening Social Security is in the Nation's best interest.

The American people are wise enough to understand the reality. If we do not touch Social Security, if we leave it exactly as it is today, it will make every single promised payment, with a cost-of-living adjustment, every week, every month, and every year until the year 2042. That is 37 years of payments from the Social Security system as it currently exists. There is not another program of Government that one can say with certainty will make every payment for 37 years, but it can be said about Social Security.

Can we do better and extend its life even longer? Of course we can. But we will not reach that goal by creating this privatization of Social Security, by attacking the very premise of Social Security.

The President says this is all about the ownership society. I think it is time for the President to own up about the ownership society. He ought to be honest about it. What he is proposing in privatizing Social Security will not make it any stronger. What he is proposing is going to cut benefits. What he is proposing is going to end up in more national debt.

This idea of the Republicans to come back and attack the Democrats for legislation that does not exist shows how desperate their position has become. Maybe it is time to call a timeout in the game I referred to earlier. Maybe it is time to do something totally radical. Maybe it is time to have a bipartisan conversation about Social Security. We did it before. I was here. Twenty years ago, Democrats and Republicans sat down and asked: What can we do together in the best interest of Social Se-

curity? And we came up with a plan. With that plan, we bought more than 50 years of solvency for Social Security. There were no bragging rights for Democrats, no bragging rights for Republicans. We did it for the country, we did it for people and families who depend on Social Security. That is where we need to return today.

The privatization plan of the President is not going anywhere. People understand it is too great a risk. They do not want to play retirement roulette. They have invested for a lifetime in Social Security to have a basic safety net of protection, and today they need it more than ever. Today, as corporations declare bankruptcy and walk away from their pension obligations, as they walk away from health care for retirees, there are certain things which we ought to say are protected in America. Social Security is one of them.

We need to come together as a nation and first make a commitment that Social Security is going to survive and be strong; secondly, that any savings incentives we create should not be at the expense of Social Security. We have a thrift savings plan for Federal employees. I am part of it. My family participates in it. It is a good idea. It is over and above Social Security. We pay into Social Security and with extra money pay into this thrift savings plan. I think it is a smart thing for my wife and for my family. Other Americans could reach the same conclusion. There are ways to encourage savings but not at the expense of the Social Security trust fund.

The biggest problem the Social Security trust fund has today is all the money that has been taken out of the Social Security trust fund by this administration and others. When this President wants to pay for a tax cut for the wealthiest people in America, the money comes out of the Social Security trust fund. Want to keep Social Security strong? Put the money back into the Social Security trust fund. Stop taking it out.

When we had a surplus in our budget, the future of Social Security was even brighter. Today, with record deficits under the Bush administration, it is no wonder we are worried about Social Security after 40 years.

So I urge my colleagues, do not engage in this kind of political trickery, trying to suggest that legislation exists which does not exist, trying to assign certain numbers and costs to a bill that does not exist. It reflects very quickly how weak the President's proposal is.

I yield the floor.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GRAMHAM). Morning business is closed.

EXTENSION OF NAZI WAR CRIMES AND JAPANESE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT RECORDS INTERAGENCY WORKING GROUP

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will proceed to the consideration of S. 384, which the clerk will report by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 384) to extend the existence of the Nazi War Crimes and Japanese Imperial Government Records Interagency Working Group for 2 years.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, there will be 90 minutes of debate equally divided between the two leaders or their designees. Who seeks recognition?

The Senator from Ohio.

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to add the following members as original cosponsors of S. 384: Senators COLEMAN, COLLINS, and SANTORUM.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, I rise this morning to urge support for S. 384, a bill that would extend a very important law; that is, the Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Act. This act launched a mission of discovery, and what we have learned from this bill has been extremely disturbing. It has been necessary that we learn what we have learned from this bill.

I will take a few moments to talk about the act's specific merits, but before I do that, there are some people I will thank. First, I thank the majority leader and his staff for allowing us time today on the Senate floor to debate this measure. I also thank Judiciary Chairman ARLEN SPECTER for agreeing some time ago to schedule a hearing about our bill. It was not necessary to hold the hearing, but it was important that he schedule it. It was his strong support for our efforts that allowed us to move so quickly on this issue. Senator SPECTER gave a strong push to all involved to resolve their differences and to move forward so we could be in the position that we are today. I thank him for his leadership and for his support.

In 1998, Congress first passed the Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Act, which our friend and colleague the late Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan and I introduced, along with my friend Congresswoman CAROLYN MALONEY, who introduced it in the House.

The purpose of this law was to make public previously classified information about a terrible part of history, the history of Nazi persecution and also the relationship of the U.S. Government to the Nazi war criminals in the aftermath of World War II and during the Cold War.

The bill provided that we would disclose, within the constraints of national security, the information we had about these Nazi war criminals. Unde-

nably, the Nazi era was one of the darkest chapters in human existence and there is a natural tendency not to even want to think or talk about it. Congress passed the Nazi war crimes law because we understood that we owe it to all those who suffered and died in the death camps. We also owe it to their families to bring the whole truth to light.

The Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Act has been in effect since 1998, and it has resulted in a tremendous amount of information. These results have been produced primarily through the good efforts of a group called the Interagency Working Group, also known as the IWG, which was created by that law. By statute, the IWG includes the director of the Holocaust Museum, the historian of the Department of State, the Archivist of the United States, representatives from the CIA, FBI, Department of Justice, specifically the Office of Special Investigations, the Department of Defense, and three outside appointees, known as public members, who are Elizabeth Holtzman, Richard Ben-Veniste, and Thomas Baer.

The IWG also includes a number of professional historians and archivists, who, along with the public members and the other IWG members, took on the task of locating, identifying, and recommending documents for declassification, of course always provided as long as the declassification posed no threat to national security.

At this point I think it is important to offer thanks to all the members of the IWG for their years of hard work on this project. The staff, including the archivists and historians, has done remarkable work and has helped to produce a tremendous amount of research on this critical project. In particular, we owe a debt of gratitude to the public members of the IWG—Elizabeth Holtzman, Richard Ben-Veniste and Thomas Baer—who have worked without compensation and spent literally hundreds and hundreds of hours of their own time on this effort. We give them our thanks. They have contributed mightily to the knowledge of this terrible era in world history.

Once the IWG was created, it worked closely with the CIA, the FBI, the NSA, the Army, and a number of other agencies to examine and evaluate an enormous number of documents. In fact, since 1998, the Interagency Working Group has coordinated the single largest specifically focused declassification effort in American history. In its first year of operation alone, the IWG screened so many documents for possible declassification and uncovered so much work to do that Congress extended its life in 2001, under the leadership of Senator FEINSTEIN, and then again with my sponsorship in 2004.

At this point, over 100 million documents have been screened for possible

relevancy, and over 8 million documents have been declassified and used to create a book titled, U.S. Intelligence and the Nazis. This book, which I have right here, now provides us with 15 chapters of insight into the Holocaust and the post-World War II era—insight into what U.S. Government officials knew and when they knew it. It makes for absolutely fascinating reading. We can be assured that, as more documents are uncovered and as historians have the opportunity to study what has already been uncovered, there will be more articles published, more interpretation, more understanding of history.

When I came to the floor almost 7 years ago to introduce and help pass the Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Act, I brought with me several aerial U.S. intelligence photographs taken in 1944 of Auschwitz. In the photographs, which were discovered by photo analysts from the CIA in 1978, prisoners were being led into gas chambers. This confirmed that our government knew that these atrocities were occurring. What else did they know? At that time, we could not be sure.

Now, however, due in great part to this law, we are much closer to answering that question. The book has contributed to our understanding of history—much more so than we ever hoped. Let me tell just a couple of the many stories this research has uncovered.

Let me tell a couple of the many stories that this research has uncovered so far.

For example, the historians were able to examine a range of documents produced by Gonzalo Montt, the Chilean consul in Prague during the early 1940s. Montt was a Nazi sympathizer and, as such, appears to have had significant access to Nazi plans regarding “the Jewish problem” and how the regime was planning to address it—and that plan involved moving the Jews into ghettos, expropriating their assets, and eventually eradicating the Jewish population.

British intelligence got access to many of Montt's dispatches to his home government and provided them to the United States as early as March 1942. Under the law, the IWG recommended that these documents be declassified, and our government agreed. These documents show that certain officials in our government had some evidence of Nazi intentions toward the Jews at least 6 months earlier than had previously been known.

Further, as the authors, themselves, say, these documents show again that: for many Americans and Britons inside and outside of government, the central, overriding concern during 1939–1945 was the war, itself—not the barbaric policies that accompanied it.

Our job in Congress, at least in passing the law, was not to judge history.